

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-20 NSC-10 ACDA-19 DRC-01

/156 W

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R 221215Z NOV 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2825

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3473

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 5646

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: SYG LUNS' PRIVATE VIEWS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

1. IN A PRIVATE MEETING NOVEMBER 20, SYG LUNS SHARED WITH ME SOME OF HIS CONCERNS WITH THE FRENCH TEXT OF AN ATLANTIC DECLARATION. LUNS THOUGHT SERIOUS CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THESE QUESTIONS AND HE GAVE ME A COPY OF A BRIEF MEMORANDUM WHICH HE HAD PREPARED ON THE SUBJECT.

2. IN HIS MEMORANDUM, LUNS SUGGESTS THAT IT IS INCREASINGLY PROBABLE THAT THE ALLIANCE WILL ULTIMATELY AGREE ON AN ATLANTIC RELATIONS STATEMENT BASED PRIMARILY ON THE CONCEPTS POSED IN THE FRENCH DRAFT.
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THE FRENCH TEXT HAS CERTAIN VIRTUES AND, HAS BEEN WIDELY WELCOMED WITHIN THE ALLIANCE PARTICULARLY SINCE IT SURPRISINGLY CAME FROM THE FRENCH. THE ALLIES SHOULD BE CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE FRENCH TEXT CONTAINS SOME ELEMENTS WHICH ARE LIKELY TO BE SEIZED

UPON AND EXPLOITED BY NATO'S OPPONENTS. THIS MAKES IT IMPERATIVE THAT THE ALLIANCE BE PREPARED TO EXPLAIN SPECIFIC PASSAGES WITH ONE VOICE. THIS MAY NOT BE EASY IN ALL CASES.

3. LUNS' MEMORANDUM SUGGESTS THAT COUNCIL DISCUSSIONS HAVE IDENTIFIED PARAGRAPHS 3 TO 5 AS THE MOST CRITICAL ASPECTS OF THE TEXT SINCE THEY DEAL WITH THE RESPECTIVE THREATS TO EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA AND WITH THE REQUIRED RESPONSES OF EUROPE ON THE ONE HAND AND OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE OTHER. PARAGRAPHS 6 AND 7 ARE EQUALLY IMPORTANT SINCE THEY DEAL WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ALLIANCE. IN THEIR OVERALL TONE, LUNS SUGGESTED THAT PARAGRAPHS 3-5 MIGHT BE SEEN AS DIVISIVE SINCE THEY SET THE RELATIVE SECURITY OF THE U.S. AGAINST A DIFFERENT THREAT TO EUROPE. THIS CONTRASTS WITH PREVIOUS ALLIANCE STATEMENTS THAT A THREAT TO ONE ALLIANCE MEMBER IS A THREAT TO ALL OF THEM. LUNS POINTS OUT ALSO THAT THE FRENCH DRAFT OF PARAGRAPHS 3-5 APPEARS TO SUBSTITUTE A U.S. GUARANTEE OF EUROPE FOR AN ALLIANCE BASED GUARANTEES MUTUALLY MADE AND RECIPROCATED BY ALL OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. MOREOVER, THE FRENCH TEXT MIGHT BE TAKEN TO CALL INTO QUESTION THE RELIABILITY AND PERMANENCE OF THE U.S. NUCLEAR GUARANTEE. DISCUSSION AND PUBLICITY ON THESE ITEMS COULD FUEL EUROPEAN FEELINGS OF INSECURITY AND THEREBY AN INCIPIENT NEUTRALISM. SIMILARLY, THE SETTING OF DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND EUROPE COULD PROVOKE NEGATIVE PUBLIC REACTIONS IN THE U.S. LUNS DREW A PARALLEL BETWEEN THIS LATTER POSSIBILITY AND U.S. COMMENT ABOUT EUROPEAN BEHAVIOR IN THE RECENT ME CRISIS WHERE THE U.S. FOUND ITSELF FACING THE USSR WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES WHO DID NOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES DIRECTLY THREATENED.

4. RE PARAGRAPHS 6 AND 7 OF THE FRENCH TEXT LUNS SUGGESTS A PROBLEM EXISTS BECAUSE THESE ARTICLES BEAR ON ARTICLE 5 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY. THE FRENCH EXPLANATION ON THIS SUBJECT MUST BE VERY THOROUGHLY STUDIED AND THAT AGREEMENT BE REACHED ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE PARAGRAPHS AND ARTICLE 5 OF THE TREATY.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 02 APR 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO05646
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731165/abqcedlo.tel
Line Count: 99
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <22-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <03-Oct-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: SYG LUNS' PRIVATE VIEWS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
To: STATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
TOKYO
VIENNA
EC BRUSSELS
GENEVA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

